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VOL. VIII.—NO. 21.

ON TO THE 100,000.

State Conventions in Washington State, Michigan, Wisconsin.

In Washington State.

SEATTLE, Wash., Aug. 5.—The State Convention of the Socialist Labor party of Washington was held at Theosophical Hall, No. 1118 Third avenue, Seattle, July 31, 1898, and a fine showing of class-conscious delegates was made. All the sections in the State were represented and there were several delegates from places in the State where Sections were not yet organized.

A STATE TICKET was nominated as follows:

For Congress, two to elect: WALTER WALKER, of Seattle. M. A. HAMILTON, of Whatcom.

For Judges of Supreme Court: THOMAS YOUNG, of Whatcom.

THOMAS LAWRY, of Seattle.

A good deal of work was done and more laid out to be done by a State campaign committee, which was elected, one member from each section and at large.

The following platform and resolutions were adopted:

1. "The Socialist Labor party, of the State of Washington, in its first annual convention, affirms its allegiance to the Socialist Labor party of the United States, and endorses the platform adopted at the last national convention and to the principles of international Socialism."

2. "WHEREAS, The present capitalistic system of production for profit, private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and the wage system, is reducing the great army of wealth producers to a condition of abject slavery, while, at the same time, blocking further industrial progress, therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That we appeal to our brother workers and intelligent people everywhere to earnestly and diligently study and compare the laws of capitalism and the principles of Socialism, without prejudice, that they may become clear on the cause of the class struggle that disunites humanity and makes its condition deplorable even at its best. And when this clearness, as to their rights as human beings comes to them we urge that they immediately affiliate themselves with the only party of true economic emancipation—the international Socialist Labor party."

ON "FUSION."

3. "WHEREAS, Much has been said by men who are honestly and otherwise disposed about a union of forces more definitely expressed as "fusion" all of which is a lack of knowledge of, or clearness on the present stage of social or economic revolution, therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That we extend to all reform forces, political or economic, an invitation to study the platform and principles of the Socialist Labor party, and when they have become convinced of the justice and practicability of the same, so that they can endorse it and renounce their affiliation with all capitalistic parties, middle-class movements, or factions of the same, we will receive them as comrades in the great class-conscious revolutionary army that is now steadily mustering its forces, against all opposition, for economic emancipation. This shall be the only form or idea of fusion that will be entertained by this convention."

ON THE WAR.

4. "WHEREAS, There is a large number said to be intelligent and thoughtful people, who, it is claimed, believe that a war which would kill off a great number of the working people would be at least a temporary solution of the labor question, and who are, apparently, happy in the thought that this war will bring prosperity; and

"WHEREAS, We recognize this cruel and inhuman sentiment as a natural outgrowth of the present brutalizing capitalistic system; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That we denounce a system that depends on war and brothers' blood to lubricate the wheels of prosperity, as cruel, barbarous and inhuman; and call upon the working people to stand up like men and overthrow it at the ballot box. And

"WHEREAS, The present war between the United States and Spain, while professedly for humanitarian purposes, is being used for capitalistic and commercial gain; therefore be it further

"RESOLVED, That we demand a speedy settlement of the war, and that it should be left to the Cubans, Porto Ricans and Philippines to establish their own government, without any outside intervention."

ON THE SUFFRAGE BY WOMEN.

5. "WHEREAS, An amendment to the constitution of the State of Washington, granting equal suffrage to woman is to be submitted to the voters at the coming election; and

"WHEREAS, In the addenda to the national platform of the Socialist Labor party we declare for "universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex."

"RESOLVED, That while it is the duty of Socialists to vote for such amendment, it is our further duty to warn woman that unless she uses the ballot to gain economic equality, her condition, like that of man, will be deplorable. The value of the ballot is that it is a means to an end—which end is economic, as well as political freedom."

ON PARTY AND OTHER PRESS.

6. "RESOLVED, That we recommend all Sections and comrades to push the circulation of our party organs, THE PEOPLE, "New Charter," German and Scandinavian papers, and, further, that we deprecate the circulation of the so-called Socialist papers that are, in any way misty, or vague in their ideas on

The



People.

NEW YORK, AUGUST 21, 1898.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

IN OSHKOSH.

Revelations of the Lumber Mill Hands Strike.

Conditions of Dependence and Physical

Deterioration to Which Capitalism

Brings Down the Workers—Political

Freedom Turned to a Farce—Progress

is Throttled—Public Office Prostituted

to Private Ends—The Blacklist System

Develops into Means of Coercion

and Raising Profits.

OSHKOSH, Wis., Aug. 14—"The pauper labor of Oshkosh" sounds strange to Americans who have worried and prated over the pauper labor of Europe and who have taken up arms to liberate the oppressed of Cuba.

Presidents have been made and unmade on that issue, but the curse has been flung back in our teeth. We have to-day in America European conditions, and these conditions bring our working class abreast of their European fellow wage slaves, in the class struggle against the capitalist class.

The strike now going on here among the lumber mill employees fairly well illustrates the fact that our political institutions only theoretically establish freedom; that to establish freedom de facto our economic institutions must be adapted to the political; that the capitalist system of production and resultant slavery must be overthrown and in its stead raised the Socialist co-operative commonwealth.

George M. Paine, of the Paine Lumber Company, is the ruling spirit among the mill owners. He is very wealthy, and is said to be ambitious to shine among the millionaires of the country.

As an evidence in the manner in which the public views Mr. Paine and the wages he paid his employees this story is being told:

One of the Paine Lumber Company's employees became ill, but continued at work. He could not afford to be sick and idle at the same time, and avoided going to a doctor on account of the cost it would entail.

He continued to grow weaker and thinner, and in response to constant urging from his wife, he consulted a physician, who gave him a tonic.

In a few days the man returned and said to the physician:

"It's no use, Doctor. The medicine you gave me did me no good. I am growing weaker every day."

"Where do you work?" asked the physician.

"For the Paine Lumber Company."

The doctor put his hand in his pocket, pulled out half a dollar and handed it to the sick man.

"Here, take this and get yourself something to eat. That is the only medicine you need."

In line with this story a strange thing has been noticed by the citizens and strikers. Before the strike the workers in the mills all had a haggard look, they were pale and thin and looked ready to drop.

Since being out on strike they have had fresh air and exercise, and now every one of them has a rugged, healthy look, far different from that which appeared while they were working ten hours a day for 45 cents to \$1.50.

These 1,600 men who struck for better conditions were among the millions of workingmen who in 1896 were coerced into voting for McKinley, at the same time that in other places, like in Colorado, they were coerced to vote for the silver wing of capitalism—Bryan.

The Saturday before election several of the mill owners sent a postal card to their employees, on which was the following:

"Present this card Monday evening and receive your pay." Monday evening, when they appeared for their wages, they were told that they were discharged.

"If McKinley is elected," they were informed, "we will give you employment Wednesday."

Postal cards were not sent out by the Gould Manufacturing Company. Harry Gould, however, took just as effective a way to impress upon the workmen that they should vote for McKinley.

"Just as soon as McKinley is elected," he said, "we will raise wages 10 per cent, and when we are sure of prosperity we will increase wages to the standard paid in 1893. The workmen are still waiting."

Blacklisting has been made a science in Oshkosh. An instance of this was told to-day by a prominent attorney.

"I knew a young man working for the Paine Lumber Company who made \$3 a day seven years ago," he said.

"He had a family of six children. Gradually his wages were reduced to \$1.75."

"He did not protest, and in a short time he was told that he would be paid only \$1.50 a day. He refused to accept this cut and quit work."

"The man then applied to the other factories for employment. At each of them he was told that he was just the man they wanted and he could go to work immediately."

"Upon saying that he had previously worked for the Paine Lumber Company, in answer to a question from the prospective employer, however, that person would hold a conversation with some one over the telephone, and when it was concluded he would be told that he was not wanted."

Mayor Ideson is the secretary of the Paine Lumber Company. These connections have been of great benefit to Mr. Paine, especially.

Valuable buildings in Oshkosh belonging to the Paine Lumber Company are assessed at only \$48,000, while the city furnishes him with a fire department, maintenance of which cost nearly as much as the taxes paid by the company.

Oshkosh should cast a good Socialist Labor party vote this November.

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.

Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

PATRIOTISM

As She Is Practised by the Railroad Companies.

In Anticipation of the War Revenue Law, the Railroads, that now are Patriotically "at their own Expense" affixing the Revenue Stamps to Receipts, Bills of Lading, etc., Raised the Freight Rates in Such Manner as to Recoup Themselves at the Expense of the Small Fry.

"Trans-Continental Rates.—The St. Louis Traffic Bureau has filed an informal complaint, which is in the nature of a protest, against changes proposed to be made in west-bound trans-continental rates, under Trans-Continental Freight Bureau West-Bound Tariff No. 1-C (I. C. C. No. 88), dated June 2, 1898, and effective June 25, 1898. The new tariff materially increases rates on Classes 1, 2, 3 and 4, which cover less than carload shipments, and also by increases in less than carload commodity rates considerably widens the present disparity between rates on carload and less than carload quantities.

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Miss Leiter, that was, not only had gloriously fleeced them before her marriage, but, without continuing to fleece them, could not have preserved the standing needed to become a Viceroy.

Miss Leiter was an American heiress; with \$5,000,000, wrung from the brow of the American working class, she purchased a titled Britisher—George N. Curzon, now appointed Viceroy of India.

While our Democratic-Republican capitalists are delighting at the elevation of their country-woman, how does the American proletariat feel about it?

Miss Leiter, that was, not only had gloriously fleeced them before her marriage, but, without continuing to fleece them, could not have preserved the standing needed to become a Viceroy.

Wonderful Americanism!

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

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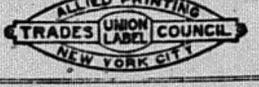
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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,068
In 1890.....	18,521
In 1892 (Presidential).....	31,157
In 1894.....	32,123
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,564
In 1897.....	55,673

The Age takes in the newspapers, or, say sooth unshaking,
The newspapers take in the age, and
stocks do all the thinking.

Lowell.

The election in Alabama turns out greatly better than imagined. The party put up its ticket in only one county, and there it polled for its first candidate 344 votes.

TAKE NOTE, AND DON'T FORGET.

The disciplinary methods and organic construction of the Socialist Labor party are frequently considered tyrannical and narrow. That "tyrannical" should be translated by "wise," and "narrow" by "long-headed," recent occurrences in Kansas are helping to illustrate.

In Kansas, the Populist party has succeeded in ousting the Republican. That it matters not which is on top, as far as the working class is concerned, theory, based upon previous facts, has foretold; and, subsequently, subsequent facts have confirmed. No observer or careful student of the situation cares one way or another whether it is by a Republican or a Populist administration that the working class is outraged. There is no difference between the two. But, to the two, there is a very great difference which is on top; the difference is the difference between going hungry or going full. The two are struggling for supremacy, each looking out for itself, which is to say, striving to get the larger share of the workers' hide. In this struggle corruption plays its rôle, and a leading one it is. The Republican party has beaten the bushes and raised a large "campaign" read "corruption" fund, and, upon the heels of this news information reaches this office that "reform" editor, or two, is, or are, to be paid \$20,000 by the Republican party of Kansas to issue a straight Socialist Labor party paper in the State during the campaign; the object being to divide the Populist ranks and give the Republicans a better chance.

As stated above, the fate of Populism leaves the Socialist as cool as the fate of Republicanism; if either can not be downed without setting up the other, the game is not worth the candle; not one step forward has been made; all that would interest us in such a case would be the manoeuvre by which the one set of political frauds worsted the other. But in this instance the Republican manoeuvre is of special interest. It serves mightily to point a moral.

The country has regularly, from campaign to campaign, seen the prostituted editors change their "views," and think as their paymasters clink. So long as the paint they put upon their nasty faces kept them within the capitalist ranks, the mischief they could do was none,—no one could take them for bona fide representatives of the workingman. But when they put on the external show of Socialism, the thing is different. The advocacy of the S. L. P. in Kansas, or anywhere, by a paper bought by a capitalist party in the expectation of injuring its capitalist competitor, is a conduct that cannot fail to leave its poisonous trail behind. The carrion crow never swoops down upon the quick; the obscure bird scents and picks out carrion only. The "reform" editor in Kansas, chosen by the Republican corruption fund managers, must be, cannot choose but be, political cartoon. To-day, for hire, he will write Socialism; to-morrow, for hire, he will write Capitalism. Whether he prove a wise investment or not to those who invest in him in this campaign for the specific purpose he was invested in, one thing is certain, that his conduct will do incalculable mischief in that it will arouse suspicion of insincerity, even of corruption elsewhere, and raise a cloud over all our party propagandists,—if not immediately, later on.

It is not in the party's power to prevent the Republican corruptionists from buying their man; hence it is not in the party's power to wholly prevent the evil. Nevertheless, it is in the party's power to greatly counteract the danger, and thus reduce it to a minimum. The method to that end is to extend a step further the party's principle on the subject of its press. To-day, the party's press is the party's property, and the editors the party's appointees out of its own ranks, consequently, subject, at any time that the party in its wisdom may decree, to be yanked out of office and even expelled from the ranks. The extension of this principle, rendered urgent by the danger that threatens

from Kansas, is the open, emphatic repudiation by the party—local, state and national—of any paper advocating the S. L. P. ticket, whose editor and managers are not party members, thus subject to party discipline; and over whose columns the party has not supreme control.

Only thus can our Kansas comrades pull the sting out of such a capitalist corrupt scheme, because only thus could they frustrate the scheme. Emphatically repudiated, no carrion editor could draw his hire; the party, having washed its hands of such a filthy character, would escape his contamination; and the capitalist parties will be slow to resort to such devices in future.

Only thus could our Kansas comrades keep unsullied the party's flag around which the Kansas proletariat is already assembling.

No false broadness!

No sentimental tolerance!

THE HOW.

On the 27th of last month there was issued from Austin, Tex., the prospectus of a new organization—The Co-operative Commonwealth of America, that is to establish peace on earth and good will toward men.

Before one has read very far, the question begins to gather shape in one's mind, HOW? As one proceeds reading, the question grows in size, in definiteness and in numbers; until one reaches the end, then one huge, clear, distinct "HOW?" sticks out over the whole thing. The prospectus, or platform, and form of organization, give no clue to the answer, while the Socialist character of its specific demands only serves to incite curiosity all the more on that pregnant question—HOW?

It may be safely set down as an undeniable fact that the impossibility of the continuance of the Capitalist System is generally recognized, and that likewise is recognized the logical sequence of the Socialist System. But a like stage being arrived at on any issue, there is encountered a still more critical stage, the stage embodying in the question of "How?" A stage so critical that, unless safely weathered, all previous progress goes for naught.

History's pages are full of illustrations on the point that the "How?" is the determining factor in all issues: "Freedom" was the issue that incarnated itself in our Civil War. No sober-minded man will to-day deny that "Freedom" was as much the ideal of Jefferson Davis as it was of Lincoln. The goal seemed one,—"Freedom"—, and yet how different did it turn out in fact, how differently was it not molded by the "How?" of each! Again,

"Farmer," the Tory pamphleteer, who, during our Revolutionary days tackled Hamilton, had "Freedom" for his motto, and so had Hamilton. The goal seemed one,—"Freedom"—, and yet how differently was it not molded by the "How?" of each! Again,

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These examples will suffice. To-day a man tells us nothing even if he tells us he wants the "Co-operative Commonwealth." Unless he tells us "How" he wants it, he leaves us wholly in the dark.

The identical mineral and other elements, go up into; the identical climate surrounds; the identical air, water, sun-shine is absorbed by the crab apple tree and the contiguous Bartlet pear tree; yet, owing to the different structure of the cells of each of these trees, the identical sap that courses and is filtered through their veins, in the end reappears transmuted into a crab apple, on the one, into a Bartlet pear on the other. The cells of each answer the question "How?"

As with fruits and animals in the domain of biology, so with revolutions or social-products in the domain of sociology. Methods, tactics are all-important. They alone answer the question "How?"—and as the various fruit on trees, the various cubs of animals, tell of the cellular structure through which each is strained and thus give an insight into the biologic "How?", so, and only thus, can the sociologic "How?" give a foretaste of what the goal will be in fact.

The "Co-operative Commonwealth of America" leaves the public in the dark. We shall be glad to give it space to satisfy the just curiosity on its "How?"

Section Minneapolis, Minn., located in the Fifth Minnesota Congress district, nominated Comrade A. Hirschfeld for Congress, and promptly challenged the Republican candidate, Loren Fletcher, to a public debate on the question, "Ought the wage workers, in the pursuit of their own best interests, to vote the Republican ticket?" A similar challenge was addressed to the Populist candidate, T. J. Ceton, and another is said to be ready for S. M. Owen, as soon as he shall have accepted the Democratic nomination.

Will they or any of them accept? Whether they do or not, the challenge is a nail driven into their coffin, a blow at the underpinnings of the common platform they all, without exception,

stand on,—the exploitation of the working class. If they accept, they will be torn to shreds in debate: no representative of capital can stand up against a Socialist; if they decline, their cowardice, born of dishonesty, will not escape the voters of the Fifth Minnesota Congress district.

The agitation and campaign in Chicago is particularly active this year. Open-air mass meetings are held nearly every evening, large crowds attend them, new members are enrolled, and a great quantity of Socialist literature is distributed. Chicago, having shaken off the evil influences that have so often stood in the way of the party's progress, may be expected to move strongly forward in the future.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

Is there any one with heart so flinty who would not sympathize with this plea from the New York "Sun"?:

"Senator Hanna is right. The coming issues of American politics are not the questions of the past, but the new issues arising from the war; and great and sufficient they are!"

How sad, indeed, must not be the plight of some of the New York "Sun's" stock-holders if the old scores were to be revived. If the war and its artificial issues were not to cover up the malfeasances of the capitalists, if bribery to gain Senatorial honors, if corruption to secure Government contracts, of crime to secure capitalist supremacy, in short, if all this was not to be covered over by the war's broad mantle!

The happiness of rogues let free from the prisoners' dock because of a fire, started by their pals in the court room, could not compare with the happiness of our criminal class of capitalists if war issues were to supersede the burning economic and social issues of the day.

But the victors' shout at Santiago and along its beach will not drown the moan of the victims of Hazleton; the Manila Bay cannonade will not cannonead out of thought and sight the industrial battlefields of Brooklyn, Coeur d'Alene, Tennessee, Buffalo, Leadville, Chicago, Homestead; nor will Miles' triumphant march through Porto Rico wipe out the stains of corruption that disgrace our capitalist government.

No, Senator Hanna is wrong; he and his class shall not escape!

The revelations made in London at the examination of the American "promoter" Hooley furnishes the London, England, "Justice" with the occasion and the material for a squib entitled "Hooley's Tooleys," that runs this wise, and is an all around hit:

"It seems to us that we are having rather too much of these self-advertising bankrupts—Hooley, Bottomley, and their like. Of course, it is amusing as well as discreditable to observe that our hereditary legislators are as keen to be bribed for the use and abuse of their titles as ever their predecessors were for the use and abuse of their wives. But everybody knew that before. Everybody, we say, who has ever studied the history of the English aristocracy, knows well that a meaner or more easily purchasable crew never played fast and loose with the destinies of a great people. The more contemptible become that same great people for allowing their precious nobility to remain their masters. It is no more surprising that English noblemen should tout for subsidies from a mushroom financier than that the ladies of the Court of France should have pestered John Law for shares when he was attending to certain personal requirements which are not usually graced by the presence of ladies. When the whole truth of the Hooley affair is made known, we have little doubt that English ladies of rank will be found to have been almost as destitute of modesty where money was likely to be got, as their French prototypes at the beginning of the development of modern finance. Hooley himself seems to have been an open-handed, unsuspecting, conceited fool. Now he is blowing the gaff on all and sundry to some purpose. For our part, we cannot see that he is any worse than, if so bad as, the successful capitalists—Mr. G. W. Palmer, for instance—who are honored of all men. Hooley, for the most part, gambled with other people's money, extracted already from the working people. He had a good innings, if a short one, and filled the pockets of aristocrats, newspaper men, and other useless persons. Now he is giving himself another advertisement at his own expense. But we do hope before he finishes he will tell us whether—and if so, how much—he paid for that puff of his greatness which was published in Mr. Keir Hardie's 'Labour Leader'."

The ship of the Seattle, Wash., "Post-Intelligencer" has at last been struck by the torrent of the Socialist movement. The S. L. P. convention, reported in another column of this issue, the first of its sort held in the State, together with its clean-cut, bull's-eyes-hitting pronouncements, have set the "Post-Intelligencer" careening. It calls the declarations of the convention, particularly the one on the war, "an outrageous piece of folly"; it dilates on the "hardships" suffered by the Roosevelts, and almost hints at their mythical wounds, and it indignates at the call to the workingmen to "stand up like men and overthrow the capitalist system at the ballot box".

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The Minneapolis, Minn., "Tocsin", a few weeks ago announced by us to appear soon, has been born. That it understands its mission well may be judged from the following passages with which it introduces itself:

"The 'Tocsin' will devote itself wholly to the interests of the wage-working class. It will know neither fear nor favor. It will never swerve from its straight and narrow path in order to conciliate an enemy. It will be as proud of its capitalist foes as of its proletarian friends. It will never consent to purchase speedy victory by the sacrifice of principle. It will stand for the whole truth, and nothing more, however distasteful that truth may be. It will not flatter ignorance by juggling with empty words. It will be as 'narrow', as 'bigoted', as 'intolerant' as the chemist or the mathematician. It will firmly believe that the simple truth, however unwelcome at first, must finally prevail.

"The 'Tocsin', then, will stand for

complete and exact education of the workers, rigid discipline within the party, and the most aggressive and uncompromising tactics toward the foe.

If the workers give it their loyal support it will yet ring the knell of capitalist tyranny, and peal out the joyful

annunciation of real freedom, actual equality, and the true brotherhood among men."

Our new co-laborer is published for and under the control of the State Committee of the Socialist Labor party of Minnesota, by the Socialist Publishing Association, a corporation without capitalist stock, the whole revenue of which must be expended for Socialist propaganda.

The "Industrial Mutualists" of Pottstown, Pa., a radical organization for education on economics, seeing that the local capitalist papers had gone into a conspiracy of silence against the Socialist Labor party ticket in the field in Pennsylvania, has done a very hand-some thing. It printed and distributed broadcast a leaflet with the party's full ticket, and accompanied that with quite an extensive and scathing criticism of the existing capitalist political parties, together with a praise-filled explanation of Socialism and of the Socialist Labor party, and calling upon the voters to work for and vote that ticket.

Its closing remarks concern the organization of the Socialist Labor party. On this head it says:

"Thus far, as an organization, the S. L. P. has been kept positively free from heresy and hypocrisy, notably its stern and effectual prevention of that sly and persistent scheme of the Competitionists called 'Singletaxism', to secure a foothold in this as it did in all other Collectivist parties, although its policy is just the reverse of Socialism. But shrewd capitalism uses this covert individualism as an excellent disintegrator of such organizations, of which several woeful examples could be cited. Nor has that combination of fraud and foolishness, the 'fusion' trick ever been imposed on said party, to its honor be it said. While the party management and system of operations could often be much improved, especially in the treatment of co-workers, yet the earnest vigilance exercised in accepting Comrades, and the profound intelligence bestowed upon the preservation of the cardinal principles and essential ideas of the great, good cause from perversion and corruption, does much to keep the whole concern pure and consistent—and therewith a forward outlook should always be kept, for should the S. L. P. once consider itself so perfect that no further progress can, or need be made, then most surely would its days be numbered, as that is the natural penalty paid by all organisms, when they stop going forward, they decay and die."

It would seem a thankless task to make any criticism that may sound adverse on a leaflet so admirably well put together, and, indeed, so flattering to the integrity and wisdom that pervades the organization of the S. L. P. Nevertheless there is one thought or suggestion in the passage quoted above that does not do justice to the S. L. P. To point out this defect is not amiss.

The S. L. P. is the last organization to consider itself to be for all time. It knows it is a means to an end. That end once achieved, the S. L. P. will cease to be needed, and will disband as gleefully as did the Society of Abolitionists after the Civil War. Would that day had come!

The aims of the S. L. P. once attained, our people once freed from the animal burden of toil for material existence, new issues will arise with new vistas, and new organizations will be required for the occasion. But the battle is not yet fought. As yet the soldiers are but drilling, and the battalions forming for the oncoming struggle. Its present tenacity of life is no symptom of the party's conduct when its life work shall have been done, and its life be no longer needed; nor will the party ever be found slow in the future, any more than in the past, to adapt its organic structure so as to meet the requirements of the growing, sound, uncompromising, and revolutionary movement needed to accomplish its aim—the total overthrow of capitalism, the liberation de facto of the proletariat.

Comrade John Robertson, of Cotati, Cal., has in the San Francisco, Cal., "New Charter" this set of questions and prompt answers:

"Will a willing slave vote for his master?

"In a minute.

"A class-conscious one?

"Never in the world."

"Will government aid the locking-out capitalists?

"In a minute.

"The locked-out workers?

"Never in the world.

"Will a Populist leader sell out?

"In a minute.

"A Socialist?

"Never in the world."

"Would Harriman, our S. L. P. candidate for Governor, debate with Maguire, the San Francisco Single Tax politician, again?

"In a minute.

"Maguire with Harriman again?

"Never in the world."

The "Social Economist" published in San Antonio, Texas, is a new publication that has entered the field of the ongoing debate on the Social Question; and it has reached this office recommended as a Socialist paper. We fail to find one editorial line or thought that would bear out the opinion of its being Socialist; true enough, it publishes the Socialist Labor party platform and Comrade Watson's article on Socialism, but, with even-handed "impartiality," it also publishes the Populist platform; nowhere, editorially, is any evidence given of the understanding of the class struggle between the working class and the capitalist class, consequently, of a knowledge of that mechanism of society that points to Socialism as the only logical solution, and to the tactics that are imperative under the circumstances.

That this opinion is not hypercritical, and how important a clear understanding of the class struggle is, unless one is ready and willing at any time to capitalize, the following passage from the leading editorial of the "Social Economist" of the 5th instant will bring out

APPEAL TO THE TRADE UNIONISTS OF MASSACHUSETTS FOR NEW TRADE UNIONISM.

By FRED. S. CARTER, Secretary Lynn Laster's Union.

Fellow Wage Slaves:—There are seventeen million wage-workers in this country; about five hundred thousand are members of trade-unions. For every one who is inside, there are thirty-three outside the trade-union fold.

Socialists realize that, to do active work for a new form of organization such as is outlined by the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, it will be necessary to point out the weak spots in the old pure and simple union; some long-cherished ideas must be opposed, some idols must be smashed. The enmity of the trade-unionist must to some extent be incurred while this educational work is going on.

Some Socialists have reasoned that, while undoubtedly the trade-union would be benefited and made much stronger and better by the acceptance of S. T. & L. A. teachings, yet the clash of ideas during the controversy between the old and the new, would be an injury to the political movement, represented by the Socialist Labor party. Others have argued that the large number of unorganized are of much more importance than the small number organized, therefore Socialists should not waste their energy trying to convert trade-unionists of the old school.

Each of the above ideas has been exploded by sound logic, and the Socialists who do not endorse the Alliance are few. State conventions are all giving their unqualified endorsement, and arranging methods of agitation for the S. T. & L. A. The wage-workers who want to better their condition must do their full duty. There are duties calling us on both the political and the economic field. The Socialist who would shirk the economic duty, because of the possible loss of a few votes for his party, would be an negligent as the trade-unionist who would shirk the political duty because of the possible loss of a few dues for his union. The question of immediate numbers is a small one.

The questions of right and of sound logic, deduced from a study of the development of capitalism and our industrial system are the greatest questions. Socialists believe they are perfectly right when they say the workers must unite both politically and industrially, and that the closer these two wings are joined in one body, the stronger and higher will be our flight to success. Even tho' there are thirty-three to one outside the trade-unions, the Socialists know that among the rank and file of those unions are to be found the true and tried soldiers who are to fight for our cause. Members of trade-unions recognized long ago the strength in union, now we want them to recognize the strength of a class-conscious political union.

They have already decided to act unitedly as to where they should work, and where they should refuse to work; how many hours per day; what time to commence and quit work; when they should take half holidays; the price for which they would work; when they would strike; whether they would support life insurance, and how much they would be taxed to support it, if at all. The majority has also decided what goods they should buy and what refuse to buy, and has placed fines upon those who purchased goods which were under the ban. These self-imposed laws control your actions every day in the year. What an easy thing it would be to unitedly cast our ballots for class-conscious measures, and for men to enforce them, on the one day in the year when the worker is the political equal of his employer!

Trade-unionists have made heroic sacrifices for the good of the cause. They have given up home and family, have gone hungry and cold, have lain in prison, and in several instances have been foully murdered, because they were true to the principles of unionism. Such men are valuable to form the Socialist nucleus, around which the large army of unorganized will rally.

Such men, equipped with weapons which the development of capitalism has made almost entirely ineffective, are too valuable to continue making these sacrifices. The strike and boycott, unassisted by class-conscious political influence, are powerless to prevent wage reductions, or to solve the problem of the unemployed; and they make the extension of trade-unionism extremely difficult. Thirty-five years of trade-union effort has resulted in getting one thirty-fourth of the workers organized! Conditions are worse. The out-of-work army is larger. More strikes are lost. More workers see the impotence of the old time trade-union. Conditions change, but we have not changed with them. A united political effort will not cost us the sacrifices and the suffering that strikes have cost us. The political effort, joined to the economic organization, will add strength and hope to the movement, and rescue it from the numbness and despair which are fast creeping in.

Socialists are not "trade-union wreckers." The flagman at the crossing is not to blame because you do not heed his warning and rush to your death. The flagman is your friend. The Socialist who warns his fellow unionists of the weak spots in the trade-union armor, who calls attention to the development of capitalism and industrialism, and says, "Boys, for God's sake make a change to correspond with your changed conditions,"—that Socialist is your friend.

Socialists do not need to do anything to wreck trade-unions, even if they wanted them wrecked. Trade-unions, if left to pursue their simple, and (more or less) pure, no-politics course, will wreck themselves. It is because of our love for the cause in which we enlisted as trade-unionists, years ago, that we are determined to do something to prevent disruption. It has become necessary to turn many of the unions into benefit insurance orders, and offer a prize-package in order to hold a due-paying membership. Their financial irresponsibility is causing even this feature to lose its attractiveness. Ninety-nine out of every hundred union men do not want to strike. A few years ago this was reversed.

The non-thinking member still imagines that the chief aim of the trade union is for more pay, shorter hours and better conditions. This, however, is not a fact. THE CHIEF AIM OF TRADE-UNIONISTS TO-DAY IS TO GET AND RETAIN A JOB, AND TO PREVENT THE OUTSIDER FROM GETTING ONE. They have recognized that there are not enough jobs to go round, and if the other fellow gets in, they must get out, and it may be some time in the sweet-bye-and-bye before they get that treasure—a job again. Were I an ignoramus, or a fakir, I would tell my associates that, while it is true our wages are getting beautifully less, and we are having more slavish conditions forced upon us, I am quite sure this will soon change, and if we only continue as we are, be sure and pay our dues and keep politics out of our unions, we shall be all right—not now, for the manufacturer himself is hard pushed—but some time. Then wage reductions will be replaced by substantial advances—all this in the beautiful BEYOND. Being neither a fakir, nor an ignoramus, I feel it my duty to say that, as capitalism develops, "hands will be more plenty, and work for the hands to do, more scarce, because mechanisms of steel and brass are doing the work formerly done by men. If we know that workers for sale are multiplying, we also know that they must be sold cheap or they spoil. If there are three men looking for every job now, we know that as our present system develops, there must soon be five men for each job, and so on." The union-wreckers are those who would retard progress, who would refuse to remodel the trade union, so as to enable it to cope with the changed conditions; who persist in teaching that one thirty-fourth of the workers can form a trust of job-holders, which the other thirty-three thirty-fourths and the combined capital of our oppressors cannot break.

A united political effort combined with an organized trade effort, such as the S. T. & L. A. calls for, will command the respect of the employing class. They know the power of such a movement because they have already adopted it themselves. All the machinery of law and war comes to the aid of the capitalist few against the wage-slaves; and yet we poor fools have an irresistible power if we bring them to our aid, but still we neglect to use our power and yet the judicial legal murders committed in behalf of the employing class, at Chicago, Homestead, Buffalo, Coeur d'Alene, Brooklyn, Cripple Creek, Hazleton and Oskosh, are still fresh in our memories.

If history repeats itself, and the French Revolution is re-enacted in America in an intensified form: if the Desperate Men and the Starving Mothers proceed to build "Caesar's Column,"—it will be despite the protest of all true trade-unionists, and Socialists. We must be more active in trying to bring better conditions, to remove the suffering, and to save our country's civilization from staggering down and out in blood and ruin.

Four years ago a large majority of my fellow workers were intolerant of Socialism; they refused to read or think seriously on the subject, and refused to talk except to ridicule the idea, and to call its exponents cranks and crazy men. All this has changed. There are still many opponents, but the intolerance has gone. Nine out of every ten spontaneous debates which occur when workers are thrown together, are on the subject of Socialism. Many investigators who have never yet cast a ballot, except for their enemies, are proud of being called "quite Socialist." They believe in government ownership of some things, their talk against the concentration of wealth is "radical," and if they want to be considered extreme Socialistic, they talk in quite a saucy way about the Supreme Court, and corruption in high places.

We are glad they have reached the investigating stage, but it won't do to stop there. It is all right for a swimming society to be formed. The object is swimmers. The swimming society might meet once a week for four years and discuss everything pertaining to the art of swimming, position, stroke, breathing, cramps, etc., but it will be necessary to get into the water and get wet before swimmers are made. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance advocate tells the workers, that, like the would-be swimmer, you must get beyond the theory stage. You must strip off the clothes of bunc which have been covering the deformities and the skeletons of pure and simple weakness, and plunge boldly into the water of class-conscious political action. The exercise, the novelty, the pure, clear atmosphere of duty, will give fresh vigor, and newness of life. The shrunken bodies of old-time unionism will become plump and strong. They will be able, at any time, to plunge to the rescue of a struggling worker who is sinking in the whirlpools of capitalism.

The first thought of the honest investigator, after he has had the impossibilities of trade-unionism pointed out to him is "yes, those things are true, alas, too true; it is no use to try to do anything in the way of organizing the workers or gaining our rights."

I believe many of the trade unionists of Massachusetts are now in this condition,—discouraged, disheartened, and as the individual so the union. You say, it makes you sick to your stomach. That is a point gained, there has been a surfeit, and the undigested mass of putridity lies heavy, and until you are rid of it you will be a sick man. You will at last throw up something green. You will then be hungry, and able to digest good wholesome Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance food. Nearly everyone has discovered that the argument of the scientific Socialist is absolutely true, and being true cannot be refuted; but prejudice and a smattering of Socialist knowledge, warped by the teachings of fake reform literature, instead of a clear understanding of the true cause and plan of Socialism, make many hesitate, and even oppose their associates

who have become active exponents of new trade-unionism. Dig deeper into the subject. Be able to answer the question, "what is Socialism?" before you condemn. Read THE PEOPLE and the literature advertised in that paper, and inform yourselves. Remember that when capitalists congregate together for the good of their class interests, prejudice is buried.

The true union man, consequently the true union, will not stop at the stage of discouragement, and flat out die, but after the struggle will go on to newness of life and activity in a more effective organization: a union whose members will do their full duty on trade matters, and political measures, in one united movement, backed up and encouraged by the largest organization of workingmen in the world—the Socialist Labor party. A party which includes all nations and in which alone solidarity of the workers is possible. The papers, and other literature, the speakers and all the means of propaganda belonging to this party would be our allies and helpers. Each political advantage gained would make it more possible for us to gain also on the industrial field. The present condition of unorganized labor in our State is no discouragement to me. I believe it is necessary to produce the desired result. Organized resistance to oppression is born and bred in the workers of Massachusetts.

If surrounding conditions and failure of methods cause uncertainties to arise for a time, it will only act as the fire of purification which will in the near future bring out the fine gold of manhood. Read, think and act. Let each who sees the light step in with the pioneers. There are obstructions to be cleared away for the advance of the grand army of wealth producers, who are just commencing to grasp these truths.

Our Demand.—THE WEALTH WHICH WE PRODUCE.
Our Motto.—NO COMPROMISE.
Our Hope.—THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN.
Yours Hopefully and Truly.

FRED. S. CARTER, Lynn, Mass.

Confiscation.

Private Property in Means of Production Rooted in Small Production.

There can no longer be any question as to whether and how private property is to be preserved in the instruments of production; the only question is, what shall, or rather must, take its place; it is not a question of making an invention, but of dealing with an actual fact. We have as little choice in the matter of the system of property that should be instituted, as we have in the matter of preserving the existing one, or throwing it overboard.

The same economic development that propounds the question: "What shall be put in the place of the system of private ownership in the means of production?" brings along the conditions that answer the question. The new system of property lies latent in the old. To become acquainted with the former we must turn, not to our personal leanings and wishes, but to the facts that surround us.

Whoever understands the conditions that are requisite for the present system of production knows what system of property those conditions will demand when the existing system of property ceases to be possible. Private property in the instruments of production has its roots in small production. Individual production makes individual ownership necessary. Large production, on the contrary, denotes co-operative, social production. In large production each individual does not work alone, but a large number of workers, the whole Commonwealth, work together to produce a whole. According to the modern instruments of production are extensive and gigantic. With them it is wholly impossible that every single worker should own his own instruments of production. Once the present stage is reached by large production, it admits of but two systems of ownership:

First, private ownership by the individual in the instruments of production used by co-operative labor; that means the existing system of capitalist production, with its train of misery and exploitation as the portion of the workers, idleness and excessive abundance as the portion of the capitalist; and

Second, ownership by the workers in the common instruments of production; that means a co-operative system of production, and the extinction of the exploitation of the workers, who become masters of their own products, and who themselves appropriate the surplus of which, under our system, they are deprived by the capitalist.

To substitute common in the place of private ownership in the means of production, this is that the economic development is urging upon us with ever increasing force.

Socialist Literature.

Price of the following Tracts and Party Platforms, \$1.50 per thousand.

- "What shall we do to be saved?" A Sermon to Workingmen, by Henry Kuhn.
- "Socialism," by William Watkins.
- "Why American Workingmen should be Socialists," by H. G. Wilshire.
- "Social Effects of Machinery," by Frank W. Cotton.
- "Socialism." Extracts culled from Robert Blatchford's "Merry England."
- "A Plain Statement of Facts," by Hugo Vogt.
- "Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party," with comments in the following languages, four pages, English, German, French, Italian, Slavish and Jewish.
- "An Appeal of the Irish Socialist Republican Party to the Working Class Irish of America."
- "An Appeal to the Workers to Enroll Themselves in the Ranks of the Socialist Labor Party."
- The Position of the Socialist Labor Party—(with comments in the following languages, four pages, English, German, French, Italian, Slavish and Jewish).
- "Attitude of the Socialist Labor Party Towards Trade Unions."
- "The Firebrand." A humorous comedy in one act. (Adapted from the German.) Price, 1 cent per copy, 1000 copies, \$5.00.
- "Women in the Past, Present and Future," by August Bebel. 25c.
- "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," by Frederick Engels, &c.
- "The Proletariat." "The Class Struggle."
- "The Capitalist Class." "The Co-operative Commonwealth." By Karl Kautsky, adapted by Daniel De Leon. Each 50c.
- "Capital," by Karl Marx. 4 parts. Each 30c. Cloth. \$1.75.
- "The Eighteenth Brumaire," by Karl Marx. 25c.
- "What Means this Strike?" Address delivered by Daniel De Leon in New Bedford, Mass. 5 cents.
- "Reform or Revolution," by Daniel De Leon. 5 cents.
- "Erin's Hope. The End and the Means," by James Connally. 5 cents.
- Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Labor Party, 1897.
- "Manifesto of the Communist Party," by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. 10 cents.
- "History of the Paris Commune," by Lissagaray. \$3.00.
- "History of the Paris Commune," by G. B. Benham. 25 cents.
- New York, Aug. 14.

Send your order to
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th street, New York, N. Y.

Boston, Mass.

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following stores:

Brigham's Restaurant, Washington St.
Cohen's Book Store, Washington St., on the Bridge.
Grandell's Store, Harrison Avenue, near Bennett St.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

Criminal Pure and Simple Tactics Among Miners.

To THE PEOPLE.—The miners fakirs Dolan, W. C. and al. are moving heaven and earth or trying to make the miners start to work. The GIVEN project is to enforce the "Chicago agreement." The GENUINE reason is to take enough money in summer to keep the fakirs all winter, and incidentally to help boost Ratchford into a seat on the Phillips Labor Fakirs' Pension Board.

Perhaps the Chicago agreement is worth fighting for, and perhaps it is not. One thing is certain, that is, that the fakirs have not been able to enforce it, nor ever will. They are flying around like singed cats, holding "conventions" almost daily and "resolving" till you could load hay-wagons with "resolutions" and always "agreeing" to "enforce the Chicago agreement." But seeing that they have not been able to enforce the Chicago agreement—how are they going to enforce the agreement to enforce the Chicago agreement? At all their mass meetings and "conventions" an always prominent feature is a "resolution" to assess the miners 10 cents to be used in "enforcing the Chicago agreement." This is the important point and really the gist of the whole business.

I believe that the "Chicago agreement's" first name is Nora. This is the reason, removal of last year's disastrous programme, that furnished the pretext for last year's killing, and that killing will be duplicated again under similar conditions. Since the slaughter at Hazleton last year, the Courts have shown that such slaughter can be perpetrated with impunity. Hence criminalization with less hesitation on the part of the fakirs.

Incidentally I might mention that the fakirs are wasting a good deal of their precious time in cursing the Socialists hereabouts, and not without reason either. "Let the galled jade wince"; our whiners are unwrapping; we will make it nice and warm for these fellows just the same; but more anon.

H. A. G.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Aug. 14.

In Westchester County.

To THE PEOPLE.—First gun fired in the Westchester campaign.

Section Pleasantville has taken the initiative on holding an outdoor meeting at Chappaqua on Friday evening. Comrades Crotty and Shaughnessy, of Pleasantville, were the speakers. There was quite a good attendance.

On Saturday, at Pleasantville, quite a decent attentive audience gathered to hear Socialists explain. It was certainly a poor average country audience in intelligence, and there seems to be a good field for successful agitation. Comrade Shaughnessy, of Pleasantville, and Fred Bennett, of Yonkers, were the speakers. It is the intention of the Pleasantville comrades to push the outdoor lectures while the season remains favorable. This place is another example of the old "knock-ing-it-down" type of factory here.

Since the fakirs are no longer able to compete successfully with the better equipped factories of the New England States. The consequence is that for about half the year the shoe workers are idle or else digging ditches, or doing odd jobs of laboring work. I predict a good vote from this end of Westchester if the comrades continue to "hustle."

FRED. DENNETTS,
Yonkers, N. Y., Aug. 16.

LETTER BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspondents.

(No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.)

D. S. G., DEDHAM, MASS.—No information

can be given on this point.

W. LOUISVILLE, KY.—Read the pamphlet

containing the speech "What means this strike?" advertised in these columns; when

you are through reading it, read it again. If

then the questions you put upon principles

and tactics still seem unanswered, then re-

peat them, you will then be better able to put

them clearly.

P. A. C. SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—By all

means send account of County and Congressional Convention of S. L. P., and all other

interesting matter. Why not set up a State

ticket? Texas elects a Governor this year.

Join the procession. It will be imposing

this November.

A. E. S., HOBOKE, N. J.—Correspondents

have often been informed through these columns of no announcement or report of

various strikes, etc. Let the people render

the appearance of such matter dangerous

to a paper. However small the chance may be, THE PEOPLE will not run it.

P. A. C. SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—By all

means send account of County and Congressional Convention of S. L. P., and all other

interesting matter. Why not set up a State

ticket? Texas elects a Governor this year.

